1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439

IMPORTS FROM YARKAND.

Shawl-wool	Rs. 28,000
Tea	48,000
Charas	24,000
Tobacco	64,000
	164,000
Add ponies, sugar-candy, drugs, skins, turquoises	16,000
	180,000
Exports to Yarkand	216,000
Excess of Exports	Rs. 36,000

This sum is equal to upwards of 216 silver ingots, called *yámbu* and *kuru*, each of which is worth Rs. 166. The fact that Yarkandi bullion is constantly being [651] brought into the Ladák market is further proved by the duty of half a rupee, which is levied on each ingot when it is exported to Bisahar.

All merchandise is called *Tshong*, and the merchants or dealers *Tshong-pa;* as, *Bal-Tshong*, a wool-merchant; *Chhang-Tshong*, a spirit-dealer. Merchants are also called *Don-thun*, or "Ware-gatherers;" but the usual term is *Tshong-pa*. The chief, or head merchant, is *Tshong-pon*. Any regular gathering of merchants, such as annual meeting at Garo, is called *Tshong-dus*, a fair; and the friendly glass, which is partaken together after the completion of a bargain, is named *Tshong-chhang*, "the mercantile glass."

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

In Ladák one meets with the coinage as well as with 436 ● the merchandise, of all the surrounding countries. The golden *tilás* of Bokhara and Kokand (or Kokan), the sycee silver and pierced copper coins of China, the thin

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

436 silver pieces of Nepál, the copper dumps of Bisahar, the almost pure rupees of the Moguls of Delhi, the Nának-sáhi and Govind-sáhi rupees of Ranjit Sing, and the broad rupees of British India, bearing the head of the Queen of England. The only native coin is the silver *Jud*, or *Jao*, which is worth one quarter of a rupee.

The *Tilá* is the common gold coin of the Mahomedan countries, and is worth six rupees in Lé.

The Chinese silver ingot, called *Kuru* by the Yarkandis, and *Yámbu* by the Tibetans, is a plain bar of pure metal, weighing Rs. 156¼. In 1847 it was valued at Rs. 166. These lumps of bullion are often bent in the middle into the shape of a horse-shoe. They are then called *Tá-Mikma*, or horses' hoofs.

The Nepál coins are of silver, each being worth half a rupee, or two *jaos* of Ladák. The coins of several of the Nepál Rajas are still current in Ladák. They consist principally of the currency of the Gorkha chiefs; but a few specimens of the Newár sovereigns are still to be found. One which I obtained belongs to *Jaya Ranajita Malla Deva* of Bhatgaon, and is dated in the year 842 of the Newár era, equivalent to A.D. 1711.

The Mogul rupees have very nearly been superseded by the *Nának-sáhi* and Company's rupee. In Moorcroft's time they would appear to have been plentiful, and more particularly the coinage of Muhammad Shah.* Even in 1839 I found the Mogul coinage prevalent in Kullu, Láhul, and Chamba; where I obtained two rare specimens of the pageant kings *Rafi-ud-Darját* and *Rafi-ud-Daulat*.

The *Jao* or *Jud* of Ladák is coined at Kashmir. It

* See his Travels, I. p. 353, where he mentions the price of Bisahar tea at fifteen Muhammad Sháhi rupees per Pakka maund.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

is a thin irregular-shaped piece of silver, about the size of a shilling, with a Persian inscription on each side. On the centre of the obverse is the name of *Mahmud Shah*, surrounded by a circle of large dots. The inscription on the reverse is difficult to read, but the upper line is certainly *Bután*, which is the Kashmiri name of Ladák. The second, or middle line, is perhaps *Zarb;* and the two together form *Zarb-i-Butan*, "struck in Batan." Below is the word *sanh*, or *sanat*, and a figured date, which looks like 878, but of what era it is impossible to say.* As the coins bear the title of Mahmud Shah, they cannot date earlier than A.D. 1687, when the Gyalpo of Ladák was nominally converted to Muhammedanism, after the expulsion of the *Sokpos* by the troops of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Kashmir under Aurangzeb. The coins which I possess all bear the same date; and, as they are but little worn on the surface, they cannot have been minted for any great length of time. The date, which I should have expected to find on these coins, is the Hijra year 1099, equivalent to A.D. 1687, which was the year of the Gyalpo's conversion.

The gold coins in use are called *Ser-jao*, or "golden jao," or simply *Ser-ki-dong*, or "golden coins." All coins are called *Dong*, or *Dong-tse*. The silver coins are named *Nul-ki-dong*, or simply *Nuk-dong*, and the copper coins *Zangi-dong*, or *Zang-dong*.† Ready money, or cash, is called *Marba*, or *Markyang*.

The weights of Ladák are the *Batti* and the *Man*, or *Maund*. The Batti is equal to two Indian seers or

* See Plate XIV. for a sketch of one of these coins.

† *gSer-kyi-Dong*, golden coin; *dNul-kyi-dong*, silver coin; and *Zangs-kyi-dong*, copper coin.

Tsan spirits and also the witches have become angered. Against this 787
you should make a cross of strings which closes the portal of earth 789
and the portal of heaven, and you should have the book of the "Golden Light of Help against the Demons' (9) read.

9. The Tibetan title of the book is: gser 'od gnyan skyabs.

Finally everything is written down. The onpo hastily scans 787
his work once more with an examining eye. In particular the devil-tamer's gaze lingers with satisfaction upon the numerous crosses which are portents of misfortune. This will mean good business; and after all the Dragschos can pay for it. Now the soothsayer smears some ink from his copper inkwell on the ball of his thumb with his reed pen, and on this "stamping pad" he presses his iron seal. Then he stamps his seal at the bottom of the document and mounts it on a silk cloth. Now everything is ready. With a satisfied air the devil-tamer rolls the document up and puts aside the roll, which contains good fortune and bad fortune for an unsuspecting child, ready for its anxious father.

The next morning Lobsang Wanggyal comes to get the horoscope of his little son and begins to study its dark contents, with which the onpo eagerly assists him. The young father assumes a worried expression at the thought of all the books that are to be read and of the expensive offerings and cermonies which are connected with it. Such reading requires a number of /22/ days during which he will have to provide the lamas with food and to pay them. He politely reminds the soothsayer of his promise and of the rupees paid to him in advance and mumbles something to himself: This is not the way he had imagined things to turn out. "Oh, just be glad, honored sir, that I have warned you in time with my horoscope of the threatening dangers that you know exactly how you can ward them off. Otherwise all these dangers would have broken in upon the child like wolves upon an unsuspecting sheep; in that case there would have been nothing to rescue it any more." Lobsang Wanggyal is silent; he rolls up the expensive document and pays the devil-tamer five rupees which the 436 ●
latter examines carefully one by one and which he then throws up with practised fingers over a block of stone, letting them fall so that they strike it, in order to test their genuineness by the sound they make (10).

10. In India there exists a widespread practice of forging

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

583 circumstantially set up a list of the things, counting on their fingers and
584 setting down the prices of the individual items. In doing so they were careful not to set the prices too low for the old Chirpon had impressed this point on them. He would like to shine with his ragt'ag and he would like to outtrump all bride's fathers in the whole of Lower Ladakh, /67/ who have married off daughters in the past few years. At the mention of many a price the people from Kalatse would nudge each other and laugh secretly. Finally the list was completely drawn up and the sum was calculated. Ishe Lhundrub placed the list on the little table of the master of the house. The latter's glance went over the lines and numbers with pleasure and then his glance moved over to the ragt'ag and the entire bride's trousseau, and finally it went over the faces of the Kalatse people, examining them one by one. Now it was their turn to calculate and to bid if they could. "There, listen, you gentlemen from Kalatse," the Chirpon now spoke forth. The "price list" (rinto) comes to 220 žo. (47) According to old Ladakh

[436]

47. 1 žo is equivalent to 6 rupees in old Tibetan currency, the rupee is equivalent to four jau (1 jau equals 3.25 anna, which in turn is equal to 28 Pfennige). The old Tibetan rupee had only four-fifths of the value of an Indian rupee. Thus 220 žo equal 1,320 Tibetan rupies, the equivalent of 1,056 Indian rupees, amounting to 1,408 mark.

custom the 'price of the mother milk' should amount to an ample fourth of the rinto. Give 60 žo, then the young gentleman Drogpa Namgyal may have the girl. You can see what kind of a bride's rope she is taking with her. Such a one there hasn't been since the days of our forefathers in Lower Ladakh." /The last quotation mark is conjectural since there is none in the original text--translator./

The Kalatse people bowed their heads That was a lot.. Typical of the Chirpon! This is the way they had known him. Always driving a bargain! This is the way he had acted also as village magistrate of Tingmogang. In all circumstances he knew how to feather his nest: when he collected the taxes, when he settled a dispute and otherwise whenever an opportunity presented itself; and now in haggling over the sale of his daughter. He would have been the last one to give his daughter away to one of those indebted "noble galon's sons" just to pay his debts off. But they knew how to take him. There now started a haggling and a bargaining which increased in violence in proportion

bring misfortune upon your daughter. So that you may see that we are honorable and reasonable people, we offer you 50 žo from the whole Dragshos tribe together, and not a paisa (49) more. We do not have 583 584

49. 1 paisa is the 64th part of a rupee in Indian currency. [436]

half of that in cash, but we p'as-pun will all put our resources together and whatever amount we are still short then, we shall borrow. And at the drabchang and the nyenchang (the 'beers' yet to follow) we shall discuss the matter again." Norpel called cheerfully over to Stobsldan: "Drig, drig (good, good)! Come, have another drink! You bomo (girls) pour us some more!" The further conversation was drowned out in the general babel of voices and the clinking of the metal beer mugs.

Suddenly everything became quiet. Two young women stepped into the room, bowed deeply in front of the master of the house and the other men and at the same time alternately touched their foreheads with the tips of their fingers of both hands and beat together the bracelets on their wrists, made of snail-shells, which produced a clear sound. In so doing they called out: "Please permit us to sing you a song!" And now the two sang the Song of the beautiful Tseringskyid (50). 533

50. From the collection of Tibetan folksongs, Ladakhi Songs, edited in cooperation with Rev. S. H. Ribbach and Dr. E. Shawe by Dr. A. H. Francke. The songs of this collection have been translated by Professor Francke into English and in part also into German. The translation from Tibetan into the German of the song cited is done by the author of the present work.

First Girl	Oh, did you not see my companion?	533
	Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?	534
Second Girl	Your companion, I know her not,	
	Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.	
	There just passed by a maiden fair,	
	Her body was as of pure gold.	
/70/ First Girl	Oh, did you not see my companion?	
	Did you not see my friend Tseringskyid?	
Second Girl	Your companion, I know her not,	
	Tseringskyid, your friend, I know not.	
	There passed by a girl with hair so rich,	

9: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

113 WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh.
175 436 651 Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years ago, there do not seem to have been many silver coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and [437] so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

651 436 804 However, once a year the taxes due to the Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver, and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo.
1 [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary -- ANALYST]

9: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

651 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two
●436 *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is
804 then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2½ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet,
436 there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal
[435] in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

prising that in the rarefied atmosphere of such high altitudes as in Ladakh, where there is little precipitation and the land extremely dry and sandy, the power of the sun is very great. This in turn produces the winds which blow almost constantly from the south and south-westerly directions. The winds on the highlands of Rupshu, for instance, are continuous throughout the year, and they blow with great force when there is not even a vestige of cloud. These winds are dry and extremely cold, since they blow over the glaciers and snow accumulations, so that it may be truly said that Ladakh is in the belt of "windswept Central Asia." When travelling in these regions you cannot fail to observe that when the day is cloudy the strength of the wind is not so great; sometimes, indeed, there is no wind at all, whilst it rises to a gale immediately the skies clear. This is one reason why the traveller in these elevated regions prefers to cross the high passes ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 feet when the sky is overcast. You can never be certain of weather conditions on a pass, but when bad weather is encountered it is easier to tolerate a mist or even heavy snowfall than a powerful wind, which not only impedes progress but chills you to the bone. Long exposure to such a wind, be the sun ever so bright and warm, can reduce your morale and physical energy to a point bordering on collapse.

The peasants of Ladakh are sturdy and cheerful people, inured to long exposure to the sun and wind. Their physical endurance when on their trading expeditions or when carrying heavy loads over a pass in the teeth of a howling wind or blinding blizzard is phenomenal. They contrive to raise crops as good as can be expected considering the unpromising nature of the soil coupled with the difficulties of cultivating them at extremely high altitudes.

The herd instinct, so notably developed in the Tibetans, precludes any effort on the part of the individual to increase his annual output of crops. If a peasant wishes to open up a piece of waste land or contemplates cutting a watercourse to irrigate it, he is obliged to obtain the permission of the community. His well-intentioned plans are usually frustrated by the prejudice and conservatism of the villagers. They at once obstruct him by saying that any such enterprise would interfere with the area required for the pasturage of the communal flocks. The immediate result is that any idea of agricultural progress is strangled at its birth by the tyrannical communal conscience, which is contented to remain *in statu quo* as regards agricultural pursuits.

The practice of interchange of farming implements, such as has been customary from time immemorial, and the borrowing of oxen to till the land, tend to deprive a man of his inalienable right to independence. This is mainly due to the fact that the average Tibetan is too poor to purchase his own farm implements and too indigent to support the number of cattle necessary for the proper development of his farm. The measure of a farmer's wealth is calculated by the number of his horses, sheep, goats, and oxen, as well as the size of his granary. Very little money is passed from hand to hand, labour being paid for in man-power or in grain. Many peasants who have land but not sufficient manure to enrich it sub-let part or the whole of it on the understanding that the tenant

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

476
506 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being
436 responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

427 In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the
161 part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of pro-
595 ducing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great
181 plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

241 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious
787 sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist
805 priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For
[114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the
134 harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

A Second Crop.

241 In recent years the peasants have shown considerable enterprise by sowing two crops in a year, the first being that of barley, followed by a crop of buckwheat.

How Grass and Straw are sold.

435 When selling grass, the peasant disposes of it at the rate of one rupee per two 'martacks' (a martack being a load of grass which can be enclosed by a leather rope 24 cubits in length).

[482] Similarly, straw is sold by the martack, but in order to carry this load it is necessary to use two ropes of 24 cubits length, and adjust them so as to form a sort of net. Three of these loads of straw can be bought for a rupee.

241 *Method of Sowing.*

The seed is first scattered over the field and then ploughed in with a light plough which can

[231] easily be carried on one's shoulder. The plough is drawn by *dzos* (male hybrid of a yak and a cow), whereas in other parts of Tibet the seed is thrown into the furrows.

Occasionally a harrow made of thorns tied together is drawn across the ploughed field by *dzos*, though the usual practice is to beat the clods of earth with mattocks.

427 *Letting Land.*

It often happens that a farmer will let his land

241 to another, because he is too short-handed to cultivate it himself, or because he contemplates a trading expedition into the interior of Tibet. The arrangement that is made therefore is that the tenant receives half the crop in return for seeding, the seed being supplied by the tenant, ploughing, irrigating, weeding, threshing and winnowing the crop, whilst the landowner pays the revenue and the cost of repairing and watching the watercourse supplying the field with water.

249 *Rusta* (*Inula Helenium*).

Of late years the peasants have engaged energetically in the development of a spicy root called *Rusta* (Inula Helenium). This root was originally smuggled into the country from the Kashmir State which has the monopoly of *Rusta*. It is readily grown and, when matured, dried and sold, yields a handsome profit, its cost price being about Rs. 2 and 8 annas per lb.

Exchange of Labour.

476 As most transactions between the peasants are

[436] conducted by way of exchange in goods or labour, little money is passed from hand to hand.

For instance, if a farmer requires three or four

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

000 [564]

(*e*) For *a* instead of *la*, see l. *Beda* is supposed to have been originally འབེ་ཏར་ལ, *bedol*, a travelling outcast man, about the dropping of final *l*, see 4 (*e*); *o* and *a* often change in verbal roots.

539 41. (*a*) རྟས་འཕང་སྙོང་ངམ། དཔོན་པོས་བཀྲོན་སྙོང་ངམ།།

(*b*) stä'phang nyo'ngam, spon'boe kyon'nyon'gam.

(*c*) Do you suffer from being thrown off the horse or from being scolded by your master.

(*d*) Ironical inquiry, when a person is not in good spirits.

000 (*e*) There the classical ending *am* of the question is retained, the Ladakhi has only *a*.

561 42. (*a*) ཐྲུག་ལ་དཔེ་ར་དང་བཙུན་རྒྱང་ཨ་འཇུ།།

793 (*b*) thrug'la spe'ra dang tsun'jungla ja'u.

436 (*c*) Speech [of adults] is to a child, what a *jau* is to the *tsunjung* [the lama apprentice].

539 (*d*) It is not good to speak of everything before children, just as the *tsunjung* is not deemed worthy to receive a *jau*, [after having taken part in a religious ceremony].

[000] (*e*) *Spera* is originally *dpe sgra*, for *ra* instead of *sgra*, see 7 e. *jau* = a little tea, because everything used to be bought with tea in Tibet, a Tibetan silverjau = 3¼ annas, btsunjung = btsunchung, see Ladakhi Grammar, laws of sound 6.

793 43. (*a*) ཁྭ་དཀར་ཀོ་བློག་ཟེར་སར་དང་ལྷ་མའི་ཏོ་ཕྱང་ཟེར་སལ་སྒྲེབ་འདུག།

539 (*b*) kha'tä ko'wag zer'sa dang' la'mä tro'wang zer'sala hleb'dug.

(*c*) He arrives at the place where the crow says *kowag* and [then], where the *lamas* say *trowang*.

(*d*) Used derisively of a man, who has nothing to do and spends his life in dullness.

000 (*e*) *Zersa* is *Compos. determin. trowang* imitates the sound of the big drum.

539 44. (*a*) སྦལ་དི་སྙིང་ཅན་ནི་སྙིང་བཀོལ་བཀོལ་ལ།

བོད་སྙིང་མེད་ཀྱི་སྙིང་སྟོར།།

(*b*) bal'ti nying'canni nying' kolkol'la
bod' nying med'kyi nying stor'.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

[584] [583] [424] tribution to the dowry, called *Rin-t'ho* (*Rin-t'ho*), "price list". This will eventually constitute part of the wife's own personal property, called *Rag-tag* (*Rag-rTags?*), which can never be included in that of her husband or husbands, except by inheritance after her death. The second part of this ceremony consists in the essential *Go-ras* (*mGo-ras*) or "cotton cloth", the laying of *khatags* on the head of the bride (or brides if a *mag-pa* is married to more than one sister) which is a point of no return. If a betrothal is broken up after this ritual has taken place it is incumbent to act as though a divorce were necessary since the parties are considered to be as good as married. The near relatives of the girl receive more *khatags* from the bridegroom's family, and a piece of cloth is taken to the kitchen where it is tied round one of the pots. Other presents, such as ornaments, cash and turquoises are sometimes added here to the gifts made to the family of the bride.

In return, the visiting party receives a piece of cloth and a dish to take home. The latter will then plan the wedding feast, called *Bag-ston* [585] [436] (*Bag-ston*), in every detail, calculate what the total of the dowry will amount to in *jos* (equivalent to Rupees 4/13/–), and decide the auspicious date upon which the final rites will take place.

585 [583] If the girl's parents do not give their consent to the marriage of their daughter as they are being requested to do, the boy's or boys' relatives will try and carry off the bride. The ceremony of laying the *go-ras* on her head will take place in the house of a male relative of hers, to whom presents have previously been given, and the marriage will be consummated immediately afterwards. The wife will then be sent home to her parents for some time. After they have been informed of what has happened, and forgiveness for the *fait accompli* has been obtained by repeated offerings of *chang* and *khatags*, the full wedding ceremony will take place. The latter bears the name of *Bag-log* (*Bag-log*) or "return wedding", but the wedding ritual in its entirety is called *Bagma-sbaste* (*Bagma-sBaste*) or "marriage by stealth". The same can apply to a *mag-pa* wedding, when it is called *Magpa-sbaste*.

[584] In the case of adults, the parties themselves arrange for their marriage, and there is no special wedding ceremony. After a period of cohabitation between the partners, the husband (or eldest of them) will visit the parents of the woman and give them *chang* and *khatags* in order to be accepted. Their consent, however, is not necessary for the union to be valid. This procedure is known in Ladak as *Pot'had-mot'had* (*Po-aT'had Mo-aT'had*), "male, female acceptance".

CCC Although it is mainly patrilineal descent which is observed in Ladak